252 pimento, and they prepare other things in this manner. They make a certain sauce with which they eat everything. They throw the bones of the fish they have eaten into a pot with a handful of pimento, manioc juice, and the finest flour, mix all this together and dip their bread and meat in it. They call that a tomaly [tomali]. The best of it is that there is always some old woman's hair and a bit of annatto in this, for they are extremely dirty. Their bread is nothing more [272] than cassava, fresh every day; their drink is ouicou, made of cassava and water. Sometimes they press pineapples or sugar cane and drink the juice, as they do water mixed with honey. In eating, they do [274] not consider it impolite to belch.

[58] They have only one regular meal a day, in the morning as soon as it is day. The rest of the day, they eat when they want to and when they have something to eat; they are always ready. The men eat apart in the large carbet, and the women and their children in their small huts.

276 They scarcely use tobacco for smoking, but they dry it at the fire, then grind it into powder, mix it with a little sea water and put it between the lip and the gum. This is very strong.

CHAPTER VI

Their Marriages and The Education of Their Children

582 As there is no police nor any laws among the Caribs, they have no certain rule for their marriages. There is no kinship prohibition. If they restrain themselves in some cases, as between parents and their children or between brothers and sisters, it is more by the powerful movement of nature that they are held back than by reason of piety or continence. There are some who, notwithstanding the voice of nature, have joined with their daughters and have had children by them, and there have been mothers who have married their sons. But those cases are usually very rare. Therefore, parents do not unite with their children, nor brothers with their sisters. A man's first [female] cousin, by his mother's sister, belongs to him; those who are daughters of brothers are considered to be sisters. Some men marry two sisters, some a mother and a daughter.

3. Feasts and Manners

572 The word compere [literally: pal] is in usage in all of the
177 islands where there are Caribs -- among the French when they trade with their Carib friends, and among the Caribs when they speak in French to those with whom they have become friends. A Frenchman gives his name to a Carib and the Carib gives his name to the Frenchman. Even if he does not give such a man his trade, at least he prefers him to others, and this does not fail to give him some profit. [320]

422 The Caribs have so few belongings that they are able to carry all of them with them, without having any desire to acquire more.
437 Thus when the Caribs have a tortoise which they want to exchange for a knife, they will not trade it if you should offer them two axes for it. The reason is that they have a need for the knife, although the axes are worth more. Our own possessions, although high-priced and scarce, would have no value among them. [291] The Caribs do not use terms for buying and selling. They ask without haggling and one gives the article to them for that which is offered without difficulty. [312]

511 The Caribs cannot fail to rank as church paupers, and to have the love of Jesus Christ, and to be accepted by the Kingdom of Heaven. For they possess neither gold nor silver and they have neither bag nor wallet, nor coat nor staff, and they do not even have the desire to obtain them. A hut to protect them from the elements satisfies their ambition. Tomali [tamale?] is their stew, and crabs are the
415 most delicate food that they have. Calabashes serve them for crockery, and baskets serve as chests. Earthen pots are used as kettles and cauldrons. When they change islands and when they go to another
574 carbet, drink and food are not refused them. They reciprocate equally
[244] to others in a similar situation, provided that the others do not arrive too late, for they save nothing for the following day. [316] The Caribs ask fearlessly, and give freely, when they have something. [273]

574 The Caribs have their accustomed civilities. One particular man
576 is in charge of receiving those who visit. He makes ready a hammock for them if they are important, or a stool if they are common, and has them sit. He summons a woman who carries to the guest a small wicker table which is laden with cassava and other things and it is set in front of him. Then the man in charge says, "My compere, this is for you to eat." The visitor replies with a thank you. If the cassava is unfolded

574 it signifies that all of it is intended for him, but if it is folded double
576 he understands that he should only eat at his discretion and should leave the rest. Others come over even if they have just finished their meal, and they share what they have brought. Because of friendship they eat again. The only trouble I had with them was when I refused to eat a second time. However, after I had explained to them our way of life they were no longer offended. I have not noticed
[214] that they have particular words for breakfast, dinner, and supper, although they eat meals regularly. [214]

When a Carib arrives at a carbet there is a man who is responsible for giving him a good reception. He shows the guest to a hammock, has food and drink carried to him, and entertains him. At the end of the meal the host goes to everyone and invites all to come and greet the visitor. The older men greet him first, and all the others after that, and the visitor responds. After this greeting they talk with him, for no one approaches him or interrupts him while he is eating. When the guest is ready to leave he goes before everyone present and says good-by to each one, and the others reply. [345]

When a captain has a drinking party or a banquet he choses a man who goes from carbet to carbet where he is well entertained, and when this man leaves he steps before his hosts and invites them to assemble and requests them to come to the feast. [266]

The boutámon is a small table which is covered with cassava and some meat, and which is presented to a visitor. [94] "To the health of my friend," replies the one for whom a toast has been given. One toast is not enough and a supplement is necessary, as they say in the islands. [353]

576 "Why does he call me my mother? I called him my father -- at least if he did not call me daughter he should call me sister." The Caribs don't call each other Mr. or Miss, etc. If they call you "father" you should reply "my son." Once, meeting Henri Comte, I said "Good morning my captain." Both he and the people with him laughed at me for a long time because of this greeting which is not customary among them. [97]

574 "Did you come?" This is the greeting that the women give each
576 other when they arrive in a house where there is one of their relatives or acquaintances whom they visit directly at their house. A seat is offered to them, and if they are old or well-liked they are offered a bed. Food and drink are presented. Nevertheless, they do not receive

you cannot expect any mercy from them. When their treachery towards you misses the mark they will say in cold blood "Me no angry at you." Then they will deal with you as if nothing had happened, and as though they were your best friends.

5. Eating and Drinking

They are extremely filthy in their eating. If you could see them make their odicou you would hold it in horror. Once, in the presence of our governor at dinner, one of them was sitting at a distance from a plate of food which appealed to his appetite. Climbing on the bench he put his foot between the dishes and extended his full length over the table. One foot was on the table where he had been eating and one arm supported his weight at the other end, and he reached for what he wanted. This is how these gentlemen behave! As for the remainder they are so proud that no matter who visits them they do not get up, but only point to a hammock and say "lie here." They very freely ask for everything which appeals to them, and are offended when you refuse. This is the reason why people who know the Caribs leave only those possessions in their houses which they are willing to give them when the Caribs are expected. The Caribs promise a great deal but they very often are unfaithful. They eat animals which do them harm such as chiggers, ticks, and similar vermin.

6. Warfare

The Caribs have small drinking parties in their carbets [men's houses] on various occasions (that is to say, assemblies in their great houses which are built especially for this purpose). Here they drink excessively and eat only a little. These gatherings last sometimes as long as eight to ten days. This would be the best time to attack them, for they are almost always drunk. After a ceremony of this kind they begin to deal with their affairs, especially warfare. The very oldest captains harangue them and are listened to with a marvelous silence. The decisions are followed by common consent, although no one has any authority as commander. The business of war commences ordinarily with great harangues or speeches and complaints by the old

276 the men. However it is considered by them to be a terrible crime to take advantage sexually of a woman who is drunk. The women also dance in a circle, each holding one hand on her head and the other on her buttocks, and neither jumping nor walking, they shake their feet. Although they exert themselves strenuously they actually traverse very little ground.

577 They have only one kind of feast which is respectable and decent. When a Carib has captured a tortoise or has made some other good catch, he invites one of his closest neighbors and gives him a good party. After eating well, the neighbor returns home very contented.

Despite the disorders of their debauches, they have at least the decency of never eating until they have invited all those who are in their company to do so. After sharing the meat it sometimes happens that there is nothing left for the man who gives the party. Because this [sharing] is their custom they often became angry at Father Raymond [Breton] who refused his share for fear he would be too much of a burden.

These assemblies are very frequent, and in Dominica there is one almost every week.

7. Food and Treatment of Visitors

264 There is nothing cruder among the Caribs than their eating habits; they are so dirty in everything connected with eating and drinking that it turns the stomach of everyone who sees them prepare it. I don't mention their ouicou and ordinary drink which is made by the gossiping old women chewing cassava, and whose mouths often stink like latrines. While eating they are not ashamed to belch, piss, and I dare not say more. They are not at all surprised to see in their food hair, straw, leaves, caterpillars, and all kinds of other filth. They have nothing good and clean except bread, which is cassava. They add pimento so strongly to everything they eat that they are the only people who can eat it.

262 As concerns the meats usually eaten, they do not correspond to the ones we are accustomed to in Europe. They only eat bourgaux [bugaus] which is a shellfish, crabs, tortoises, and several kinds of

262 fish both from rivers and from the sea. They never eat meat soup or other meat except a few birds which they throw into the fire without removing the feathers or entrails. When the feathers are almost singed off they take the birds out of the fire and smoke them and eat them. They don't eat milk, cheese, or butter and they hold eggs and oil in horror. This is said among them.

262 When they eat with us they are accustomed to eating our foods,
263 although there are some who are more scrupulous than the rest and don't wish to break their ancient customs. They don't use salt to season their food, and if they find grease they throw it out. They have only one common sauce made with fishheads and a large quantity of pimentos to which they add manioc water which loses its poison when it is boiled. They also add to the sauce mouchache which is obtained from manioc and is like the finest flour. They boil this attractive mixture. They dip their bread into it with much satisfaction and enjoyment, preferring it to the most exquisite meats.

264 Ordinarily they eat three times a day, but most of the time there is no rule for their meal and they eat when they are hungry and whenever they feel like it. The men eat separately in the great carbet. The women and small children eat in the small houses. They rest on their buttocks like monkeys sitting around a coui, which is half a calabash used like a dish, from which they eat all their food. Usually dogs and cats participate, but the children are careful to rap them on the muzzle with a stick when they rush in too quickly to the dish.

574 Among the Caribs there is always a deputy to welcome and take care of guests. When one of their friends comes to visit, this master of ceremonies brings him into the carbet and promptly hangs a hammock for him on which he tells him to sit. The guest does so immediately, maintaining his gravity and silence. Meanwhile everyone goes to some trouble to bring something to the newcomer. One woman brings him a drink, another bread, another crabs and fish or bourgaux [a kind of shellfish] and others bring similar things. When a guest is presented folded cassava it means he should eat only what is necessary for him. When it is presented to him unfolded it means that he should eat as much as he wishes and take the rest home with him. After eating and drinking well he says to his host "I am drunk." The master of ceremonies then brings everyone into the

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

methods of planting and of preparation as the *Arawak*. The kitchen utensils, however, were more varied. The *Carib* made their graters from coral, from thorny branches, or by inserting wood or stone splinters in a plank. They removed the juice in a cylindrical basketry strainer (pl. 94), hung with a weight from a tree; sifted the flour in a basketry sieve; and baked the cake on either a stone or a clay griddle with the aid of a wooden spatula. [241] 415

Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*. The sweetpotato and the yam were particularly important; they were planted as cuttings after a rain. When full grown the tubers were roasted or boiled and eaten with a sauce like that made for meat. The roots and leaves were used as a seasoning. 241 252

The *Carib* ate fruits of various kinds, including the banana (post-Conquest), the plantain, the guayba, the papaya, and the pineapple. Bananas were cooked in sugared water; both they and the other fruits were also pounded in a mortar to make a thick paste. Sugarcane, acquired from the Spaniards, was boiled in water or was chewed fresh, and honey was mixed with water to make a drink. 252

Eating.—Except for the morning meal taken soon after fixing their hair and bodies, the *Carib* ate irregularly. Men sat on low stools in the carbet (men's house) and were served by women on little tables (matoutou), covered with leaves. Later the women ate by themselves in the kitchen. 214

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Settlements.—*Carib* villages were located in the areas least favorable for surprise attacks by the enemy, being usually on the windward side of the island and in an open space upon a rise in the land. Each village was near a stream, which provided drinking water and was used daily for bathing. The villages were moved frequently, after a death, sickness, or some other disagreeable incident. Each was small; it consisted of a carbet (men's house), various smaller houses for the women, and several storage platforms. These structures were arranged irregularly around a small plaza where the people were accustomed to sit by the light of a fire at night. 361

Houses.—The carbet (taboüi) was an oval building, which later became rectangular, about 60 feet (18 m.) long and 20 feet (6 m.) wide. To construct it the *Carib* set into the ground forked posts 10 feet (3 m.) high and lashed across beams to the tops of these posts. They laid on poles, extending from the ground at one end to the peak of the house at the other; bound other poles horizontally over the first set; and thatched the whole down to the ground with palm leaves. The floor was of dirt and had a hearth in the center. There were no partitions; the only openings were a door no more than 4 feet (1.2 m.) high in the middle of each side and end. 342

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

553 probability, of their forefather's conversion and of the name of his white godfather. Such today are Dauville, Lucien, Viville, John, Darroux, Benjamin, etc. But already these names are falling into disuse and being forgotten even by their bearers, who designate the individual by attaching the patronymic to the name—so, Norbert John, the son of John Jules, the son of Jules Benjamin. Friends sometimes "swap" or exchange names.

551 The Carib of Dominica retains the Indian's traditional dislike of the indiscriminate use of his name. In ordinary forms of address he almost always uses "compère," "commère" (the old "gossip"), "cousin," "chef," "babe," "boy," etc. He habitually refers to people by a nickname (Popote, Fanfan) or by abbreviating the real name (Ma' Ham for Madame Hamilton). When traveling or staying in some other part of the island or abroad, he invariably changes his name, adopting for the time what Roth calls a "nom de voyage." The reason for this, as explained to me by a Carib friend, is that "nobody can do you anything (piai, charm) when they do not know your right name." This idea that the name is part and parcel of the thing or person to whom it belongs, and the adoption of a false denomen, in order to trick the nefarious genii, is, I believe, peculiarly Indian. Thus, before going to the provision grounds or to the woods [177 for food, a mother of the old school will tell her children that she is 176] going to "fouiller fourmis" (dig for ants), fearing that she would be unlucky and return empty-handed should she pronounce the real name, and say (for example) that she was going to look for wawa (wild yam: *Rajana cordata* L.).

576 Forms of greeting are seldom used by the Caribs. Even after a long absence, a man will arrive with a simple "I am come," and take leave, before a long separation, with no more than "I am going."

262 Women and children eat in the kitchen apart from the men and • [264] after the latter have finished. I understand that this habit is peculiar, in Dominica, to the Caribs; though it would seem to be more a matter of convenience than custom in a community where the women do all their own housework. Vestiges of taboo seem to subsist with regard to the eating of certain foods. One old woman gave as the reason for not eating a species of sea crab, called agaya, that the [342] latter sometimes "had to do with women." She averred that this crab, were it to meet a girl or woman on the beach, would crawl up and urinate on her leg, thus rendering her pregnant for him. We read that the Caribs of other days would not eat hen, turtle, or eel for fear of thereby acquiring the unworthy characteristics of these beasts. There are Caribs in Dominica today who, for similar reasons, will not touch the meat of shark, conger eel, or an elsewhere widely consumed variety of fish, locally known as "vive."

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

The Caribs have an ancient and natural language, such as is peculiar to them, and also a bastard speech, with foreign words, chiefly Spanish, intermixed. Among themselves they always use the natural language, in conversing with Christians the bastard speech. . . . The women also have a different speech from the men. . . . It hath been observed that the men are less amorous than the women; both are naturally chaste; and when those of other nations look even earnestly at them, and laugh at their nakedness, they were wont to say to them, 'you are to look on us only between both the eyes.' . . . Yet, it must be confessed that some have degenerated from that chastity, and many other virtues of their ancestors, the Europeans having taught them many vices,—to the perpetual infamy of the Christian name. . . They are great lovers of cleanliness, bathing every day; are generous, hospitable and honest. . . . It is also a manifest truth, confirmed by daily experience in America, that the holy sacrament of baptism being conferred on these savages, the devil never beats or torments them afterwards as long as they live.[1]

"The Carib boys were compelled to pierce their food suspended from a tree with an arrow, before they could eat it. . . . They are said to have used poisoned arrows, dipping them in what must have been the urrari poison, obtained from Guiana. . . . Like many natives, they eradicated the beard and the hair on other parts of the body. . . . They compressed the skulls of new-born infants; and a hatred of the Arrowaks was instilled. . . . Their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground and drawn together at the top, covered with palm leaves, and in the centre of each village was a building larger than the others for public assemblage.

"The Caribbeans are a handsome, well-shaped people, of a smiling countenance, middle stature, having broad shoulders

[1] See Davies's "History of the Caribby Islands." London, 1666.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

between father and daughter, brother and sister, and of mother and daughter with the same man; "but the others hated them because of it." Of polygyny, the latter author wrote:

> It is a fact that some of the savages have several wives; yet nevertheless many women are without husbands, because the majority have only one wife, though there are a few who have two in one or two carbets. It happens quite often (when they are in another island where they have not brought their mistresses) that they get themselves new ones for the time of their stay only. I have never seen two women together, eating or sleeping with a Savage, nor travelling together with him in the same canoe. They have their turn, month and month about, even when pregnant. After giving birth they are a good while without seeing them for fear of harming the child.

However, it was not unknown for a wife to remain without seeing her husband for a whole year; and we are told of one case where the neglected woman's father, a chief, sent to warn his son-in-law that unless he put in a speedy appearance, he would find his wife bestowed upon another. Du Tertre, La Borde,[4] and Labat (though not Breton) mention the sororate. "If a husband shows himself worthy," says the latter, "or should his wife grow ill or old, the father-in-law will reward him by presenting him with the younger sister of his wife."

The old records mention no marriage ceremony other than that which consisted in the bride's serving the groom with food, and then eating with him. Then their hammocks would be slung next to one another; and the following day, the bride would comb her husband's hair and smear him with oil and roku (*Bixa orellana*). No women-folk except a man's own wife might eat with him, says Breton; while according to Labat (and present-day usage) not even wives eat with their husbands.

The bridegroom—unless he were a chief or a chief's son—took up his abode with his wife's family, and contributed as best he could to their common weal. Every married woman had her own fire for cooking, however; and every couple its own māyas, to sleep in, as well as the use of the communal tābuy or longhouse, which was divided into men's and women's halves. As has been seen above, if a man had more than one wife, he was expected to divide his time and services between their respective carbets.

Newly married couples were supposed to avoid (for how long we are not told) parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Nor should they visit sick people, as this might hinder their recovery. According to Rochefort[5] (and present-day

4 (R. P.) de La Borde, *Recueil de divers voyages* (Paris, 1674).

5 César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles de l'Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1665) [also attributed to de Poincy].

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

Between the ages of six and twelve children are supposed to attend school in Salybia, in many cases a considerable distance from their homes. This does not, nevertheless, exempt them from fetching wood and water, or running errands for their mothers; and sometimes they will play truant from both and go river-crayfish catching on their own account, at which they are generally much more adept than doing sums or reading. In fact, considering that all school work is conducted in English (a language which few come to understand readily, let alone to speak clearly) it is not surprising if those children who acquire a fair degree of literacy are the exception rather than the rule.

The average Carib man rises with the sun, and works hard enough, but sporadically, as present interest or inclination dictates. Periods of extensive energy output are followed by days of depression or complete idleness, encouraged doubtless by drinking bouts for which any occasion such as a Church holiday, a wake, or a "coup de main" may be the pretext. The latter system of cooperative work still obtains for such heavy or urgent labor as clearing a patch of woodland for a new provision-garden, hauling a freshly made dug-out from the forest-heights to be finished on the coast, digging the site for a new house or re-roofing an old one. For such tasks, helpers are invited, and no payment is offered, but food and rum are supplied free and *ad libitum* by the owner of the canoe or house, or the maker of the new provision-garden.

Of the two most thickly settled districts, St Cyr and Bétaka, the inhabitants of the former hamlet are predominantly women and basket-makers, those of the latter, woodsmen and horticulturists. But only those belonging to a very large household can afford to specialise to any considerable extent. Most Carib men must be ready to turn their hand to felling, squaring, and sawing of timber; hunting, trailing, and fishing; the making of dug-outs, basketry, twine, and rope; thatching and broom-making from palm-leaves; even butchering and carpentry. Small wonder that the expert canoe-builder and fine basket weaver are disappearing together with the old joint family.

While men may be called the "butter-winner," woman is the "bread-winner" of the Island Carib family (metaphorically speaking; for they see little of either in the literal sense). Her labor, though perhaps less arduous than a man's, is unceasing. It is she who does all the washing and cleaning, cultivates, carries and prepares the starchy tubers that go by the name of food, makes and mends the family's clothes, cares for the children. It is therefore hardly to be looked upon as a strange custom, if she continues as of old to serve the men's meals in the house, herself and the children eating later and at leisure in the kitchen (an outhouse in the yard).

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

plained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock."[38] Breton has answered this last statement by saying: "it is not likely that the husband should cry out like a woman in labour; on the contrary, I've seen them come from without, secretly and stealthily, a month after the birth, in order to make their retreat and fast."[39] This is, at least, more in accordance with all modern reports of the custom. Moreover, it is disconcerting if not misleading to insist upon the "otherness" of the father's part, after rightly noting that the restrictions affected both parents; especially since precautions similar to those characterizing the Carib's "couvade" were also taken at puberty, after the death of a relative or the slaying of an enemy, and by candidates for chieftaincy or shamanship. Breton nowhere mentions any special taboo on the names of the dead, while la Borde merely says that they were avoided so as not to evoke thoughts of death. The former does say, however, that names were not used as forms of address to any but children; and that everybody's real name was kept secret from all but intimates. And, while Breton mentions that his wife was the only woman who might eat with a man, his failure to report that even this was limited to the occasion of their marriage suggests that there was no hard and fast rule about such matters. A summary cannot include everything; but the studied omissions or contradictions of a man like Breton, who had read, before publishing his own work, the accounts of Armand de la Pain, du Puis, du Tertre, and Rochefort—all of whom had sought and obtained his advice and help—cannot well be ignored. My own article on the *Kinship and Social Structure of the Island Carib* resumés some of these points at greater length.[40]

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the whole summary of Carib culture is the section on "Religion and Shamanism,"[41] which perpetuates the myth that the Carib invoked and made offerings to "the evil spirits (maboya)." Already Breton protested (and in the matter of religion, at least, he cannot be accused of prejudice in the Caribs' favor) that "There is in the belief of the Savages as much difference between Ichéiri & Mápoya as between God & devil among ourselves; and it is unheard of among them that any one should offer sacrifices to mápoya,"[42] while la Borde notes: "Ils craignent Mábois, mais ils ne lui rendent aucun culte." Thirty-five years ago Roth, in his *Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians*, argued conclusively against this somewhat mischievous concep-

38 *Ibid.*
39 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.
40 Taylor, *Kinship and Social Structure; Carib Folk Beliefs.*
41 *Handbook*, pp. 561-563.
42 Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français*, pp. 283-284.